

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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O R 120710Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9181
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2948

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

FOR AMBASSADORS AND CHARGES ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, RH, TZ
SUBJ: RHODESIA: MEETING WITH NYERERE

1. SUMMARY: AFTER INITIAL NEGATIVE REACTION TO GRAHAM-
LOW REPORT ON POSSIBILITY OF UNPUBLICIZED PRINCIPALS
MEETING ON RHODESIA, NYERERE CAME AROUND TO AGREEING
SUCH A MEETING WAS WORTH TRYING IF US-UK BELIEVED THERE
WAS REASONABLE CHANCE THAT IT WOULD BRING SMITH TO
ACCEPTANCE OF THOSE PRINCIPLES OF ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN
TO WHICH PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS AGREED. WE BELIEVE
THAT IF SUCH AN ASSESSMENT CAN IN FACT BE MADE AFTER
FURTHER CONSULTATION IN SALISBURY LATER THIS WEEK, IT
SHOULD BE PASSED AT LEAST TO NYERERE, AND PERHAPS ALSO
TO KUANDA, AND MACHEL BEFORE THE OTHER FRON LINE
LEADERS, NKOMO AND MUGABE GET TOGETHER IN KHARTOUM
WEEK OF JULY 17. END SUMMARY.

2. GRAHAM AND LOW TOGETHER WITH AMBASSADOR SPAIN AND
HIGH COMMISSIONER MOON DISCUSSED RHODESIA FOR ABOUT
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FORTY-FIVE MINUTES WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE TUESDAY
AFTERNOON JULY 11. GRAHAM DESCRIBED THE SITUATION
INSIDE RHODESIA LARGELY IN TERMS OF SMITH'S HOPES FOR
THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, HIS LACK OF LEADERSHIP TOWARD
MAKING IT WORK, HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AND TENDENCY TO
BLAME OTHERS (MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE) AND THE GENERAL
WAR WEARINESS IN THE COUNTRY. TO THIS HE ADDED LATER THAT

THERE WAS TALK IN SALISBURY OF SIMPLY ABANDONING THE ELECTIONS, SINCE THE WORLD WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO ACCEPT THEM ANYWAY, AND TRANSFERRING POWER TO THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS WHICH WOULD ONLY LEAD TO CONTINUED CONFLICT. LOW BROUGHT NYERERE UP TO DATE ON THE PROPOSAL FOR AN UNPUBLICIZED MEETING OF PRINCIPALS EXPLAINING THAT SMITH UNDERSTOOD IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO MOVE OFF THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT AND GIVING HIM MUGABE, NKOMO, MACHEL AND KAUNDA'S REACTIONS AS REPORTED PREVIOUS TELS. HE AND GRAHAM WERE NOW GOING BACK TO SALISBURY TO ENGAGE SMITH AND THE REGIME IN DISCUSSIONS OF SUBSTANCE ON A BASIS FOR AGREEMENT WITH THE PF.

3. NYERERE LISTENED CAREFULLY WITHOUT INTERRUPTION; THEN SAID SIMPLY THAT IT WOULDN'T WORK. SMITH WAS TOO OBSTINATE AND WOULD NOT CONCEDE TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHAT IT REQUIRED. THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS HAD MOVED THE PF TO ACCEPT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS -- OR THE ESSENCE OF THEM. UNTIL SMITH WAS BROUGHT TO THAT POINT, A MEETING COULD NOT SUCCEED.

4. GRAHAM SAID SMITH HAD COME A LONG WAY. HE NOW WANTED AN "HONORABLE" WAY OUT. WE HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN INSISTING ON HIS "SURRENDER" IN THE ORIGINAL AAP. WE BELIEVE HE NOW ACCEPTS MUCH OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE AAP AS AGREED AT DAR. LOW SAID THAT WHETHER OR NOT SMITH HAS CHANGED, HE HAS SET A PROCESS
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IN MOTION WHICH CANNOT BE REVERSED. BOTH SIDES HAD NOW GIVEN AS MUCH AS THEY PROBABLY WOULD WITHOUT A FACE-TO-FACE MEETING. IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR INTERMEDIARIES TO GET MUCH MORE FROM THEM. SMITH AND THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO ABANDON THE MARCH 3RD ACCORD UNTIL THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON SOMETHING ELSE. THEY WOULD HAVE TO HAVE SOMETHING TO FALL BACK ON. THEREFORE, EVEN IF THEY WERE WILLING TO MOVE OFF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, THEY WOULD FORMALLY COME TO THE MEETING WITH A POSITION BASED ON IT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2948

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5. AS THE CONVERSATION PROCEEDED, NYERERE MODIFIED HIS ORIGINAL NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD A MEETING. HE SUGGESTED WE MAKE AN ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER SMITH WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT AT LEAST AS MUCH OF THE AAP AS THE PF HAD AT DAR (TRANSFER OF POWER, BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, UN FORCE, IMPARTIAL ELECTIONS). THEN THE PF COULD COME TO A MEETING ON AN EXPLORATORY BASIS JUST TO SEE WHAT SMITH HAD TO OFFER -- IF IT WAS NOT SUFFICIENT, THEY COULD ALWAYS FALL BACK ON THEIR ARMS. THE ONLY IMPORTANT ELEMENT WAS SMITH. HE HELD POWER. WE BEING NICE TO MUZOREWA BECAUSE HE COULD BE SAVED (NYERERE DID NOT MENTION SITHOLE AT ALL) BUT SMITH WAS THE ONLY ELEMENT THAT COUNTED. MUGABE WANTED A SETTLEMENT AND ELECTIONS. WHY SHOULD THERE BE A DIFFICULTY AGREEING ON THE AAP AS A BASIS OF DISCUSSIONS? WHEN GRAHAM NOTED THAT THERE WAS STILL A MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US AND THE PF OVER REPRESENTATION ON THE GOVERNING COUNCIL, NYERERE SAID THAT WHEN SMITH HAD ACCEPTED AS MUCH OF THE AAP AS THE FLP'S HAD GOTTEN THE PF TO CONFIDENTIAL

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AGREE TO, THEN WE SHOULD COME TO HIM TO ASK FOR HELP IN GETTING THE PF TO TAKE A REASONABLE POSITION ON THAT ISSUE AND THE POLICE. THE IMPORTANT THING NOW WAS TO GET SMITH TO ACCEPT THE AAP. NKOMO NOW HAD AN ARMY AND WAS BEGINNING TO GET INVOLVED IN MILITARY OPERATIONS FOR THE FIRST TIME. HE WAS TALKING OF VICTORY IN TEN MONTHS. IF WE DIDN'T MOVE SOON, HE MAY LOSE INTEREST IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT. NYERERE SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS THE SITUATION WITH THE PF AND OTHER FLP'S IN KHARTOUM AND CONSULT WITH US AGAIN.

6. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR THAT NYERERE CONTINUES TO CLING TO

THE IDEA THAT THE BEST POSSIBILITY FOR
FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN RHODESIA IS SIMPLY FOR THE
US AND THE UK TO PRESSURE SMITH INTO ACCEPTING THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. HOWEVER, HE STILL TRUSTS IN US-UK GOOD
INTENTIONS AND IS WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH AN UNANNOUNCED
PRINCIPALS MEETING, IF WE ARE CONVINCED IT HAS A CHANCE OF
WORKING.

7. NYERERE IS MORE DEVOTED TO THE AAP THAN ANY OTHER
OF THE LEADERS. KAUNDA WOULD OBVIOUSLY PREFER A GOVERNMENT
OF NATIONAL UNITY UNDER NKOMO. (WE DID NOT RAISE THE
POSSIBILITY WITH NYERERE PREFERRING TO LEAVE THAT TO OTHERS.)
MACHEL WOULD PROBABLY ACCEPT ANY SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, NYERERE
HAS GIVEN US AN OPENING TO COME BACK TO HIM WITH. DAVID SMITH,
IN A CONVERSATION OF JUNE 26 (LUSAKA 2336, PARA 6) ACCEPTED
THAT IAN SMITH AND THE 69 CONSTITUTION COULD DROP OUT AFTER
THE WHITE REFERENDUM. IF OUR MEETINGS IN SALISBURY LATER
THIS WEEK WITH GAYLARD AND PERHAPS IAN SMITH GIVE ANY BASIS FOR
US TO BELIEVE THAT SMITH MIGHT BE WILLING TO COME SOME DISTANCE
TOWARDS THE AAP, WE SHOULD PASS THAT BACK TO SPAIN AND MOON FOR
TRANSMISSION TO NYERERE. SINCE HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL BE
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DISCUSSING RHODESIA ANYWAY AT KHARTOUM, THE MORE POSITIVE
NYERERE FEELS ABOUT AN ALL PARTY MEETING, THE BETTER FROM
OUR POINT OF VIEW, ALTHOUGH WE DON'T SEE HIM TALKING A LEADING
POSITION AMONG HIS COLLEAGUES IN ANY CASE.
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